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AUTHOR Stenstrom, Anna-Brita
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ABSTRACT

A study of feedback in conversational question-response exchanges focused on the questioner's feedback to the respondent. It examined three types of "followup" moves: the ordinary type revealing the questioner's attitude to the response and closing the exchange; the type signaling the questioner's reaction to the response and inviting further confirmation; and the respondent's confirmation. The analysis found that followup moves are recurrent features of discourse but with markedly different use in face-to-face and telephone conversations and among individual texts. It also found that followup moves are related to status and authority, with more used in teacher-student interactions than between equals. The most frequently occurring single lexical item used as a followup was "yes," followed by "m," which could serve as a variant of "yes" or "no." The characteristic tone pattern found for "yes, no, and m" functioning as response and followup was falling. (MSE)

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FEEDBACK

Anna-Brita Stenstrom
Department of English
Lund University, Sweden

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Anna-Brita Stenström
Department of English
Lund University, Sweden

Feedback

Abstract. In this paper which deals with feedback in Q/R exchanges I will concentrate on the *third move*, ie the questioner's verbal contribution in immediate connection with R. I will comment on its various functions and lexical, prosodic and syntactic properties. My main concern is feedback as a confirmation of R and the way this is realized will first be discussed in terms of *implicitness* and *explicitness*. Reference will be made to differences in the use of feedback when it comes to face-to-face and telephone conversation and also to differences among individual texts. Finally, I will comment on some lexical items which occur both with feedback and R-function.

Follow-up moves and supports

Feedback is a recurrent phenomenon in human interaction in general and takes various forms. In discourse, two variants of feedback may be distinguished: 1) what is generally referred to as Backchannel items (see eg Yngve, 1970 and Duncan, 1973) but which I prefer to call *Supports* (following Oreström, 1977) and 2) *Follow-up moves* (see Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975).

Follow-ups (FUP) and Supports (SUP) are variants of the same phenomenon and have certain fundamental characteristics in common: they both indicate that information has been received and they are both needed in discourse interaction; if they were missing the speaker might start wondering if the hearer was really listening, he might get irritated and finally give up talking. But apart from these fundamental characteristics, they differ considerably in discourse function despite the fact that they often have the same or similar formal realizations. The basic differences may be seen in diagram form

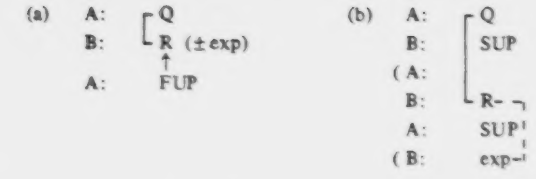

Fig 1 Follow-ups and Supports

What distinguishes the two in the first place is that FUP is a turn in its own right uttered as a reaction to R whereas no speaker-shift takes place in the case of SUP. SUPs may occur anywhere in the ongoing speech without causing the current speaker to give up the floor. It also appears in Fig 1 that FUP moves (generally) constitute the end-move of an exchange whereas an exchange like (b) is open-ended. The examples below illustrate the main distinctions:

(1) B: Q /there's a cassETTE {/GOES with 'that//}// .
A: R /YEAH//
B: FUP /WOwee// . 3.2c 867-870

(2) C: Q /which do you 'think you'll : ((FALL)) for//
A: R well I /don't think I 'want to ((2 syllls)) you /know they're a !bit !too sort of ": STRONG // .
C: SUP + /[M]// +
(A: + for + /my ROOM// -
/so I !thought I'd wait till he had another LOT//
C: SUP + /[M]// +
A: + I + /like ! !THAT one best// 1.8 402-408

(1) and (2) differ first of all in that the questioner continues being the current speaker in (2) but not in (1). The evaluate act in (1), *wowee*, is a clear indication of speaker B's appreciative attitude to R and constitutes the end move of the Q/R exchange. In (2) it is obvious that speaker C has no intention of taking the turn but that he produces these *M*s just to show that he is listening and that he is anxious to hear what speaker A has to say. Note the encouraging rising tone on the first instance of *M*.

SUP moves have the following characteristics:

- they are no turns in their own right and thus do not involve speaker-shift
- they may be inserted almost anywhere in the ongoing speech
- they are often uttered simultaneously with part of the ongoing talk (overlap)
- they are mostly uttered fairly low, often with characteristic intonation
- they may be accompanied by body-motion
- they are replaceable by body-language

Situation

The occurrence of feedback varies according to discourse situation. In classroom interaction for instance, feedback is a required and natural component which serves as a pedagogic device. According to Sinclair & Coulthard (1975) the function of FUP moves is to tell the pupil whether he has performed well or badly.

Burton (1978) is of the opinion that feedback or Follow-up is not a normal feature in ordinary conversation but that it might be seen as a recurrent element in what she refers to as ritual encounters and extended formal talk. Follow-up may occasionally occur, she says, in informal conversation as a sarcasm device.

What actually happens, judging by the study of Q/R exchanges in ordinary conversation, is that FUP moves (see Ex 1) prove to be frequently recurring phenomena (cf Table 1), being neither sarcasm devices nor a means for the speaker to tell another participant that his performance is good or bad. It would be totally wrong, however, to argue that FUPs work the same way

inside as outside the classroom. In the classroom, they are part of the teaching technique; in ordinary face-to-face conversation, on the other hand, where nods, headshakes, and facial expressions may replace verbal signals, there is much less constraint on the questioner to indicate verbally that he heard R or to make comments on R. Verbal FUPs might even be left out without an immediate break in communication as a result.

Explicit/Implicit

I regard FUP moves in the first place as *the questioner's confirmation of or reaction to R.* There are two ways in which FUP can be manifested, either explicitly or implicitly, and before going into a detailed discussion of FUP moves in the data, I will consider an approach which presupposes implicit interpretation.

Before undertaking this study I assumed that interrogative exchanges consisting of a Q and an R followed by a confirmation, realized by a FUP move were almost as common in spontaneous conversation as exchanges consisting of merely Q and R. However, I was not inclined to go as far as eg Mishler (Lang.Soc.4: 31-51) who claims that Q-R-confirmation is the natural unit for Q-initiated conversation. He argues that mere Q/R exchanges seem totally inapplicable as a basic unit in 'open' natural conversation and states that not only does a Q 'demand' an R but R demands further 'response' from the questioner. He assumes that the questioner must indicate by some kind of 'sign' that his Q has been responded to, no matter whether this R is adequate or inadequate, appropriate or inappropriate. To verify his assumption he studied 'natural' conversation in four first-grade classrooms, concentrating on units which consisted of successive Q-R-confirmation utterances, and found that 86 % of all Q/R sequences were followed by a confirmation which, he points out, is almost equal to the rate of Rs to Qs; in other words, in his study all but 14 % of the Q/R sequences were followed by a confirmation.

The high percentage of sequences ending in confirmation is, however, partly due to Mishler's data, classroom interaction, but even more to his definition of confirmation which runs: 'If the third speaker, in a sequence of three successive utterances initiated by a question, was the same person as the

questioner, then this third utterance was counted as a confirmation' (Lang. Soc. 4:33). This definition implies that the function of the utterance is the automatic result of its position in the sequence, ie if the speaker has the right identity. In the following example Mishler illustrates how interrogative exchanges are connected by a confirmation which at the same time functions as a Q initiating a new exchange (the indication of double function, C/Q, is mine).

(3)

I	Q	S1:	Did you really finish all your work before everybody else?
	R	S2:	Yeah.
II	C/Q	S1:	*What kind of work was it?*
	R	S2:	Well. We just had a piece of paper and it had all the names on it. And we had to see if it was odd or even.
III	C/Q	S1:	*Do you know all the odd numbers and all the even numbers?*
	R	S2:	Uh huh.
	C/Q	S1:	How far up can you count?

There are three interrogative units (I - III) which are connected by having one utterance in common; *What kind of work was it?* connects units I and II, *Do you know all the odd numbers and all the even numbers?* connects units II and III.

There are two seemingly divergent but interconnected reasons why these 'third utterances' acquire the function of confirmation; one is by their position in the turn-taking system, the other is by implication. As I see it, they are no confirmations in themselves. The mere fact that S1 goes on speaking immediately after S2's R does not necessarily mean that he confirms the R. Take eg

(4)

I	[Q	S1:	Did you really finish all your work before everybody else?
	[R	S2:	Yeah.
II	[Q	S1:	Did you play with Paul yesterday?
	[R	S2:	No he never turned up.

or

(5)

I	Q	S1:	Did you really finish all your work before everybody else?
	R	S2:	Yeah.
II	Q	S1:	I think I'll go to the movie tonight. What about you?
	R	S2:	I'd love to.

The only way of regarding the third utterance in (3) as confirmation is by implication, which is illustrated in the expanded version below

(3_1)

I	Q	S1:	Did you really finish all your work before everybody else?
	R	S2:	Yeah.
II	C/Q	S1:	Good. What kind of work was it?
	R	S2:	Well. We just had a piece of paper and it had all the names on it. And we had to see if it was odd or even.
III	C/Q	S1:	I see. Do you know all the odd numbers and all the even numbers?
	R	S2:	Uh huh.
	C/Q	S1	Fine. How far up can you count?

The more loosely the interrogative exchanges are connected as far as topic is concerned, the more far-fetched this procedure becomes. This becomes apparent if one tries to expand the third utterance in (4) and (5) above on the same lines as (3).

Mishler also gives an example of what I shall call *explicit* confirmation or confirmation *in its own right* and which I will discuss in some detail

(6)	Q	S1:	Ohhoh. What's he got here?
	R	S2:	Skis.
	R	S3:	Skis.
	C	S1:	*Wooooow. I would love to ski.*

The interjection *Wooooow* expresses S1's reaction to R, which is furthermore emphasized by the approving phrase *I would love to ski.* Since I will not deal with implicit confirmation my definition of confirmation or FUP differs

considerably from that of Mishler (cf p 3) which, in my opinion, is a mix-up of turn and function.

Variants

A close examination of the data made clear that there are three variants of explicit FUP moves which I will refer to as FUP_1, FUP_2 and FUP_3.

FUP_1 is defined as follows:

> it indicates the questioner's attitude to and estimation of R and is realized by assent (ass), evaluate (eval) and comment (comm) acts

FUP_1 is the 'normal' FUP move by which the questioner expresses his attitude to R and closes the exchange. FUP_2, on the other hand, does not constitute the end of the exchange but invites confirmation realized by FUP_3. The definitions of FUP_2 and FUP_3 will be as follows:

> FUP_2 is the questioner's reaction to R which is realized by a react (rea) act

> FUP_3 is the answerer's confirmation of the questioner's reaction to R and is realized by an assent act

A diagram may be illuminating:

Fig 2 Follow-up variants

As to the possible structure of FUP_1 I have adopted the description of the FUP move in Sinclair & Coulthard (1975) except for the fact that I employ the term *assent* instead of *accept*. The different realizations of FUP appear in (7), (8), and (9).

(7) A: Q ((anyway)) /how do you 'find WORKing at//
/Uni'versity COLLege// - - .

B: R /TRYing//
at /TIMES//

A: (- giggles)

(B: /VEry 'trying// .

A: FUP_1 /YES// .

B: REM it de/ pends on 'how I 'wake 'up in the !MORnings//
as /WELL// 5.9
164-172

Yes constitutes an assent act indicating something like 'I see what you mean'. Note that there is no indication of the appropriateness of R which is typical of FUPs in classroom interaction (cf Sinclair & Coulthard 1975:43). By *yes*, A shows that he accepts B's direct R to what he asked, *trying at times very trying*. Note the short pauses after the second *trying* and *yes* which might be significative of move ending. Moreover, the subsequent *it depends on how I wake up in the mornings as well* has been analysed as a remark (REM), ie uttered as an additional comment to R but as such not necessary for the completion of R. *Yes* is consequently not uttered as a feedback signal in the ongoing speech but as a turn in its own right.

FUP_2 is a variant of the FUP move which shows the questioner's reaction to R and is, in its turn, confirmed by a second FUP move, FUP_3, such as in

(8) B: Q +but you /don't think it's !NEcessary// -

A: R /[ə : i?]// .
I /wouldn't have 'said it was "UNnecessary//

B: SUP /[*M*]//

(A: - [ə:m] - - but it was /funny going to this !SEminar// -

B: FUP_2 *oh you /WENT to 'that//*

A: FUP_3 */YES//*

\+ */YES//* + . 5.9
1079-1087

The first FUP, *oh you went to that*, does not constitute the end of the exchange but acts very much like a request for confirmation, is a Q asking for confirmation. It is responded to in the second FUP, *yes yes*. But although FUP_2 invites confirmation or agreement in the form of FUP_3 and is generally followed by a confirming expression, I do not consider it on a par with an ordinary eliciting move (Q). After all, it is first and foremost a reaction to what has just been said; it invites confirmation but the absence of a confirming move would not necessarily be noticed. The absence of a responding move to Q, on the other hand, would be highly noticed and cause problems for the following discourse.

There are borderline cases, such as the following where a confirming move does not seem to be required after the first FUP move but still occurs. The only way, it seems, of dealing with the type of FUP-pair exemplified in (9) is to regard them as instances of FUP_2 and FUP_3. In cases where the questioner's FUP move is confirmed by the answerer, I have analysed the moves as FUP_2 and FUP_3. If the questioner's FUP move is not confirmed, on the other hand, it has been analysed as FUP_1. Both FUP_1 and FUP_3 serve as exchange closers.

(9) B: R + + /NO// + +
/this is [dhi: əm] - : history of [dhi:] .

A: SUP + /YES//
/YES//
/YES// +

(B: + de/ velopment of the : ENGlish language paper// +

A: FUP_2 */[MHM]// -*
doing /Old and Middle English : dialects//

B: FUP_3 /*YES*\\/ -

[ə] / doing [?]. and the /thing IS that we have had\\/ 6.2
79-88

FUP_2 consists of an assent and a comment act, and what is stated in the comment act is further confirmed by FUP_3.

Some cases cause problems. The excerpts from text 7.1 below do not belong to the corpus proper but are included only because they are good examples of the problems I would like to mention.

(10) a: Q still not to worry listen when are we going shopping for furniture or whatever we're doing

B: R /well I've !got me : FLAT\\/ .

a: FUP_2 *you have*

B: FUP_3 (- laughs) /*YES*\\/ -

a: FUP_2 *you took this one* -

B: FUP_3 /*YES*\\/ -

a: FUP_1 *oh good* . 7.1d
1218-1224

(Text 7.1 is a partly surreptitious recording which explains why prosodic and paralinguistic markings are missing for speaker a.)

One difficulty lies in the interpretation of the sequence *you took this one – yes*. An alternative analysis to the one given in (10) would be to interpret FUP_2/FUP_3 as a Q/R sequence, ie a request for confirmation followed by a confirming R. This interpretation seems strange, however, since it is clear enough that B already knows that speaker a took the flat. I regard the second FUP pair as a mere repetition of the first in that the second might easily replace the first. Another problematic utterance is *oh good* which has been analysed as FUP_1. It corresponds to the definition of FUP_1 insofar as it signals the questioner's attitude: it consists of an

evaluate act and closes the exchange. But it differs from the definition in that what it confirms is not R but the confirmation of FUP_2. Still, I regard it as a variant of FUP_1.

At first sight, (11) appears to contain a sequence similar to the one discussed in (10)

(11) b: Q_1 and you're going [?] every day

C: R_1 /oh \YES//

b: Q_2 and . evening some evenings

C: R_2 . /\NO//

b: Q_3 *no evenings*

C: R_3 /\NO// they've /crammed my 'twenty-two 'hours :\TEACH-

ing// . /in during the !\DAY// ... 7.1a
253-260

The reason why I have analysed the pairs differently is that an expansion of *no evenings* into eg 'I see, no evenings' or 'no evenings, good', which would turn it into a FUP move, seems utterly far-fetched. Speaker b apparently asks for a clarification and possible expansions of Q_3 are 'what do you mean no evenings' or 'do you mean no evenings at all'. Consequently, *no evenings* is an Eliciting move and no FUP. The three exchanges are both syntactically and pragmatically connected and form a coherent Q/R unit, but there is no FUP move to close the unit.

Other functions of the third move

Besides serving as a FUP move or a SUP, the third utterance in a Q/R exchange, ie pronounced by the speaker who asked the initiating Q, can have other functions, such as in (12)

(12) B: Q and /also !did you 'find my - - : blue and 'green 'striped
: TIE// .

A: R I /haven't !LOOKed for it//

B: *[ə: m] - cos I /thought I 'brought it !WITH me//*
but I /can't 'find it Any'where// . 7.2b
78-81

There are two possible interpretations of B's second utterance. It may be analysed either as an expansion of Q and part of the Eliciting move, a clue act, in which B gives additional information by saying why he thinks that A may have found his tie, or as an additional remark, REM, realized by an inform act where B gives the reason for asking Q after having heard R. In any case it cannot be considered a FUP_1 move. Normally, utterances giving additional information to Q are part of the Eliciting move, as in

(13) B: Q /could you MENtion 'it to 'him//

clue *cos /I've in'vited 'him as WELL//*

a: R yes - +OK+

B: FUP_1 +OK+// + /FINE// ... 7.1a
1437-1441

where the Eliciting move consists of a request for action and a clue act in which the speaker gives a reason for making the request. Due to its position after R in (13) I regard the third utterance as a REM.

Chaining

In my description of Q/R sequences followed by a second utterance by the questioner I have kept to fairly regular chains. I wish to underline, however, that all sorts of intricate patterns may be met with in spontaneous speech. The most typical sequences may be summed up as follows:

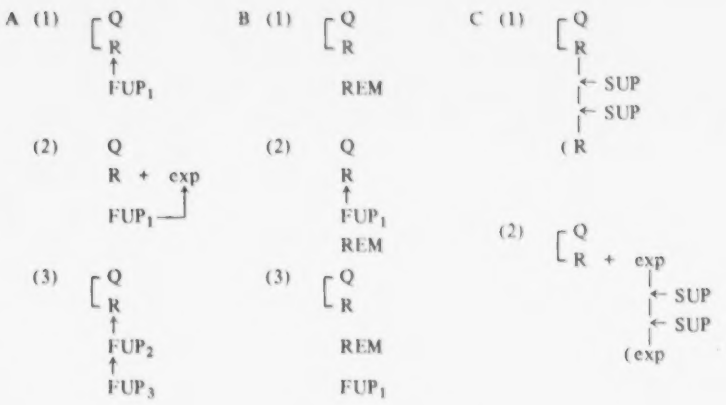

Fig 3 Q-R-FUP models

The main distinction between FUP and REM is that FUP is typically uttered as a *reaction to R* whereas REM is *related to Q*. As to the distinction FUP/SUP, FUP constitutes a turn and involves speaker-shift whereas SUP is uttered in the course of the ongoing speech and does not involve speaker-shift.

Distribution

In order to verify the distribution of FUP moves in the data I examined 13 conversations in more detail (for a brief description of the texts, see Appendix 1).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Total
Q/R exchanges	26	28	24	40	20	36	18	41	42	6	55	4	43	373
Follow-ups	8	3	7	7	9	20	3	14	21	1	22	0	25	140

Table 1 Number of Follow-up moves per Q/R exchange per conversation

The overall average number of FUP moves is very close to 38 %. But there is great individual variation among the texts, ranging from no occurrence in text 12 to 25 in text 13.

The use of FUP moves was compared in two pairs of texts which differed considerably from each other. The first pair consisted of texts 6 and 7 and the second pair of texts 4 and 13.

In texts 6 and 7 FUPs constitute roughly 1/2 and 1/6 respectively of the total number of Q/R exchanges per text. The disparity is surprising since these conversations are very similar in respect of number and type of participants, topic, and recording conditions. In both, an administrator and a group of people discuss certain matters connected with their working conditions at the university and especially in the English department. Both recordings are surreptitious. The only apparent difference between the conversations has to do with the composition of the groups involved. In text 6, the group is composed of five undergraduates but in 7 of five members of staff.

The conversations vary considerably in organization. Whereas the staff members get wrapped up in lengthy discussions about the issues brought up by the administrator, the undergraduates merely touch on the problems. Whether the difference is due to the leader of the discussion or to the other participants is an open question. It certainly seems that he is extremely explicit in the undergraduate group where he acts very much like a teacher in front of his pupils. He is also the person who asks almost all the Qs in text 7 where there are few FUPs – but also few Qs in relation to text 6.

The second pair to compare consisted of texts 4 and 13. They contain an almost equal number of Q/R exchanges (40 and 43) but show discrepancy in the number of FUP moves, 7 vs 25. Here I see the difference both as a matter of 'who talks to whom' and of 'what is being talked about'. In text 13, with 25 FUPs an academic teacher is talking to a young ex-student about strictly academic matters, such as exam papers, teaching, and conditions at other colleges. The majority of the Qs are requests for information. I cannot account for the high number of FUPs with any certainty but it is striking that there was also a high number in text 6 which is also a teacher/student conversation.

In this connection I might mention that a study of the 13 texts involved showed that FUP moves are roughly four times as common in Q/R exchanges initiated by requests for information as in exchanges initiated by requests for confirmation.

Text 4, with only 7 FUPs, is very particular insofar as half of the Qs (21 out of 40) are requests for confirmation. The speakers are three colleagues

who are supposed to pick out pictures for their rooms in the department from a picture collection, and they are deliberating upon possible choices. Expressing their personal opinion they are probably anxious to know what the other participants think. A typical way of expressing one's opinion is by using a statement plus tag. These tags usually elicit an R signalling whether the answerer agrees or, more seldom, disagrees. The fact that they are not followed by an evaluation in the form of a FUP move may be seen as a direct consequence of the function of R; generally agreement (disagreement) does not invite confirmation. The examples below illustrate the difference in this respect between Q/R exchanges initiated by requests for information and those initiated by requests for confirmation

(13)	B:	Q:info	but /why was 'Chetwynd 'Road so : CHEAP// - - -	
	A:	R	/ah !that . there /is an answer to THAT// -	
			/nobody could 'get a : MORTgage on it// -	
	B:	FUP_1	*/oh THAT's 'right {/YEAH//}//* - -	4.2 304-307
(14)	B:	Q:conf	[əm] / [m?] - they're . !really 'undis!TINGuished// - - -	
			/AREn't they//	
	A:	R	I /THINK so //	
			/YĒS//	1.8 103-106

A special study of ten conversations, five face-to-face and five telephone, showed that the distribution of Q-R and Q-R FUP sequences varies according to manner of interaction (see Table 2).

	Q-R		Q-R-FUP		Total
Face-to-face	90	70 %	45	30 %	135
Telephone	106	40 %	165	60 %	271
TOTAL	196		210		406

Table 2 Exchange structure in relation to conversation type

Some conclusions can be drawn from the figures in Table 2:

- seen as a total, Q/R exchanges occur more frequently in telephone conversation than in face-to-face conversation. In this case, a contributing factor was probably that each telephone text consisted of a number of short conversations, in one of the texts as many as 16, and that each of these short conversations contained a proportionally larger number of Q/R exchanges than ordinary face-to-face conversations
- the distribution of sequence type varies between the two categories of conversation. In face-to-face conversation there are twice as many Q-R exchanges as Q-R-FUP exchanges; in telephone conversation, on the other hand, the number of Q-R-FUP sequences far exceeds that of Q-R sequences. It might be added, without going into detail, that the way exchanges are built up in telephone conversation is far more complex than in face-to-face conversation; the majority of the sequences are not mere Q-R or Q-R-FUP sequences
- the distribution of sequence types varies among the individual conversations, and also within each category.

The difference between telephone and face-to-face conversation referred to above seems to be the natural consequence of the fact that in telephone talk people cannot see each other's gestures and facial expressions. When you have the listener in front of you, on the other hand, you can generally read his reactions to what you are saying by his non-verbal actions. In telephone interaction these actions have to be expressed verbally.

Lexis

It appeared that R, FUP and SUP often have similar or even identical lexical realizations and four texts (7, 11, 12 and 15) were examined in some more detail for the purpose of verifying what lexical features the three move categories had in common. Table 3 gives a general survey of the use of the most frequent items.

LEXICAL REALIZATIONS	R	FUP	SUP
yes/yeah	+	+	+
m (hm)	+	+	+
yep	+		
right		+	
sure	+		
OK	+		
oh yes/no	+		+
well yes/no	+		
yes please	+		
yes quite		+	+
tag + yes		+	
I see		+	+
aha/oh		+	+
really		+	+
gosh/variant		+	+
tag			+
no	+	+	

Table 3 Lexical realizations of R, FUP and SUP

Naturally, no general statements can be made on the basis of this limited material. It indicated that in this corpus

- *yes* and *m* are met with in all three functions
- *no* alone does not function as SUP
- *right* and *sure* serve one function only, but whereas *right* occurs only as FUP and cannot replace *yes* with R-function, *sure* occurs only as R, equivalent to *yes*

- *yes quite* functions as FUP and SUP but not as R whereas *yes please*, naturally enough, only serves as R
- *oh*, *well* and tags serve as introductory items but they do not have the same distribution; *oh* does not introduce FUP, tags only introduce FUP, and *well* only occurs with *yes/no* functioning as R
- although *really* and tags often have identical function, *really* but not tags occur as both FUP and SUP.

Tone patterns

Another interesting point was to see whether the choice of tone pattern for the most common lexical realization of R, FUP and SUP, namely *yes*, *no* and *m*, varied depending on discourse function. The distribution displayed in Table 4 is based on the same four conversations (7, 11, 12 and 15). Note that these are instances of *yes*, *no* and *m* in isolation and not as initiators, which explains why so few tone directions are represented.

		↘	↗↘	↗	↘↗	→
YES	R	16	2			
	FUP	6				1
	SUP	1	1			2
M	R	5	1	1	1	
	FUP	7				
	SUP	3		3		
NO	R	3		1	1	
	FUP	1				
	SUP					
TOTAL		42	4	5	2	3

Table 4 Directions of tone typical of *yes*, *no* and *m* alone

Falling tone predominates for *yes*, *no* and *m* functioning as R and FUP. As to SUP it is very hard to draw any conclusions at all. There are very few instances due to the fact that SUPs rarely occur in Q/R exchanges unless R is very long. Since I have made a complete analysis of all utterances in text 15, I was able to count all instances of SUP in that single text. SUP realized by *yes* occurred in 28 places, realized by *m* in 23, and it turned out that there were 25 instances of falling tone in the *yes*-category and 10 in the *m*-category. It may be noticed that *no* occurred very seldom in any function. This is typical of the larger corpus as well.

The way eg *yes* realizes R, FUP and SUP function may be seen in diagram form

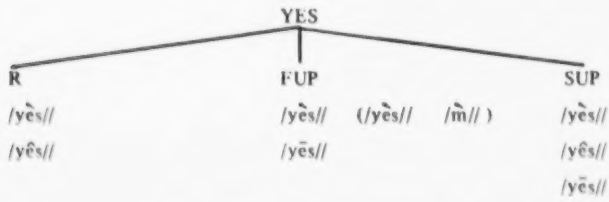

Fig 3 YES: functions and tones

Although this is not the place to deal with Rs, I would like to mention, in connection with Table 4, that the majority of Rs consisting of only *yes*, *no* or *m* were Rs to requests for confirmation, not requests for information.

It appears that *yes*, *no* and *m* are more often used to serve one function than another, and this may be represented as follows

	YES				NO			
	R		SUP	FUP		R	FUP	SUP
M	+			-		+		-

Fig 4 Functions of *yes*, *no* and *m*

Summing Up

This study of feedback in conversation showed that FUP moves are recurrent features of discourse but that there is a marked difference in use between face-to-face and telephone conversation, which is to refer back to the inherent character of these two types of interaction, one involving copresence of the speakers, the other not. There is also variation among individual texts. It appeared that FUP moves are related to status and authority in that more were used in teacher/student interaction than in interaction between equals.

Three variants of the FUP move were discussed: FUP_1, the 'ordinary' FUP move which reveals the questioner's attitude to R and closes the Q/R exchange, FUP_2 which signals the questioner's reaction to R and invites further confirmation in the form of FUP_3.

A separate study of four of the conversations showed that the most frequently occurring single lexical item used as FUP was *yes*, followed by *m*, which, however, may serve both as a *yes* and a *no* variant. These items generally occur alone but are sometimes repeated or combined.

It appeared that FUP, SUP and R have certain lexical items in common, but the only items that served all three functions were *yes* and *m* in this material.

The characteristic tone pattern for *yes*, *no* and *m* functioning as R and FUP was falling whereas the few instances of SUP function did not permit any conclusions in this respect.

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APPENDIX 1 TEXT DESCRIPTION

Text number	Manner of recording		Recording conditions			Number of speakers		Speaker relations				Sex			Topic			
	Face-to-face	Telephone	Surreptitious	Part-surr	Non-surr	Two-party	Multiparty	Intimate	Distant	Equal	Non-equal	Male-male	Male-female	Female-female	Academic	General	Domestic	Specific
1.1	+		+			+		+		+		+			+			
1.2	+		+			+		+		+		+			+			
1.3	+			+			+	+		+			+		+			
1.4	+		+			+		+		+		+				+		
1.5	+		+				+	+		+				+	+			
1.6	+		+			+		+		+			+		+			
1.8	+						+	+		+			+			+		
3.2	+		+			+			+	+		+			+			
3.3	+		+				+		+		+		+		+			
3.4	+		+				+		+	+		+			+			
4.1	+				+	+		+		+			+				+	
4.2	+				+	+		+		+		+				+		
4.3	+			+			+	+		+			+					+
4.5	+				+		+	+		+			+			+		
5.8	+				+	+		+		+			+			+		
5.9	+				+	+		+		+			+		+			
5.10	+				+	+		+		+		+				+		
6.2	+				+	+			+		+		+		+			
6.3	+			+		+			+		+	+						+
7.2		+	+			+		+		+		+						
7.3		+	+			+		+		+								
8.1		+	+			+		+		+								
8.2		+	+			+		+		+								
9.1		+	+			+			+		+							
11.1	+				+		+		+		+	+						+

The telephone conversations – 7.2 - 9.1 – consist of a verying number of subtexts, each having its own characteristics.

APPENDIX 2

TEXT Nr	Nr in CORPUS
1	1.2
2	1.3
3	1.6
4	1.8
5	3.2
6	3.3
7	3.4
8	4.1
9	4.2
10	5.8
11	5.9
12	5.10
13	6.2

KEY to PROSODIC and PARALINGUISTIC SYMBOLS

/	onset
//	end of tone unit
{ }	subordinate tone unit
[ ]	word partials
. –	short and long pauses
+ + / ++ ++	simultaneous speech
:	higher pitch level than preseding syllable
!	higher pitch level than preceding pitch prominent syllable
' "	normal and heavy stresses
/	rise
\	fall
V	fall-rise
Λ	rise-fall
—	level